

# THE POLITICAL SCIENCE POST

FALL 2019

Newsletter of the BYU Political Science Department



## SAN MARINO AND THE CONCEPT OF TRUST BETWEEN NATIONS

The Republic of San Marino, a small independent country nestled in the north of Italy to the east of Florence, on the northeastern side of the Apennine Mountains—one of the smallest nations in the world at just 24 square miles, with a population of only 33,562 people—remains functional almost exclusively because of its trust-based relationship with the surrounding country of Italy. Founded in 301 AD, San Marino inevitably had to develop a unique form of independence

over its 1,700 year history. San Marino and Italy have engaged in trust-based agreement “conventions” since 1862, dictating some economic activities in San Marino’s territory. But questions relating to how a small dependent country interacts with another larger one, and whether one country can ever truly trust another, arise when analyzing how a country like San Marino still exists. This is a question that **Professor Kendall Stiles** has asked and researched in his book: *Trust and Hedging in International Relations*.

A country as small as San Marino, and other microstates like it including Europe’s Monaco, Liechtenstein, Andorra and Luxembourg, all exercise trust and hedging to survive. All countries, both large and small, to some extent must

either trust or hedge their bets with their neighbors and countries in their region. Examples include the USA and Canada, Russia and the country of Georgia, China and North Korea, and USA and Mexico. Some trust their neighbors more than others, under all kinds of circumstances. For example, Italy has required some trading norms with San Marino in exchange for its support, such as: cultivation of tobacco and production of goods which are subject to Italy’s government monopoly are forbidden in San Marino. Direct import is forbidden in San Marino: all goods coming from a third party have to travel through Italy before reaching the country. Although it is allowed to print its own postal stamps, San Marino is not allowed to coin its own currency and is obliged to use Italy’s mint. *[continued on page 12]*

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**BYU** | POLITICAL SCIENCE

The BYU Department of Political Science, consistent with the aims of a BYU education, intends to foster “Lifelong Learning and Service.”

We hope to provide our alumni with intelligent, thoughtful and sophisticated analysis of important issues, and to act as a catalyst for service in our communities, neighborhoods, nations and the world.

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# EVENTS & PROGRAMS



## **BEYOND BYU 2019 ON MAY 9-10, 2019**

Beyond BYU is a career networking event, wherein students travel to Washington, DC and meet for two days in groups at career oriented events. They meet at the offices of various DC PAS Chapter members who work for trade organizations, law firms, political consulting boutiques, Congress, international relations groups, and many more to learn what makes D.C. tick. The keynote speaker, Judge Thomas Griffiths, 106 Senate Dirksen Building, Washington, DC, spoke about his career in law and in the US Court system, and gave advice to students on what qualities helped him succeed.

## **LDS SCHOLARS WORKSHOP ON MAY 23-24, 2019**

The BYU Political Science Department hosted its fourth annual “LDS Scholars Workshop”. The motivation behind the workshop is to provide a venue for young LDS scholars to foster professional networks with other LDS scholars (junior and senior), as well as receive feedback on their work. Graduate students and newly-minted assistant professors were each assigned mentors from amongst the BYU faculty who helped them prepare for the conference, from proof-reading their paper, to advising them on how to give good discussant feedback, and giving them tips on presentation techniques. This year, we invited 30 participants to present their work over a two-day workshop. BYU faculty provided feedback and each session involved lively discussion amongst the participants.

## **CSED CONFERENCE ON JUNE 6-7, 2019**

The 2019 CSED Conference (Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy), on “Partisanship Reconsidered,” was held on Thursday and Friday, June 6 and 7, 2019 at BYU and at the Sundance Mountain Resort. In addition, a banquet honoring retiring Professor David Magleby was held at the Sundance Mountain Resort.

## **PROVO PIONEER DAY PIE CONTEST ON JULY 24, 2019**

Professor Ryan Davis won Third Place Honors in the Provo Pioneer Day Pie Contest, 2019, July 24, 2019 with his delicious Blue Berry with Raspberry/Vanilla Crème Pie. The Provo City Major Michelle Kaufusi encouraged him to continue! Congratulations Ryan!





# POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT CLOSING BANQUET HONORS

Friday, April 12th, 2019



## RECOGNITIONS FOR NATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE HONOR SOCIETY

The National Political Science Honor Society, is the only honor society for college and university students of political science in the United States. Its purpose is to recognize and promote high academic achievement in the field of political science.

McKay Coppins spoke as the keynote speaker at the annual awards banquet and is an American journalist, author and staff writer for The Atlantic.

### Pi Sigma Alpha inductees:

Diana Alarcon	Natalee Jones
Meghan Beatty	Aidan Kassem
Madeline Beck	Erin Kitchens Wong
Jamie Bjazevich	Isabelle Lougee
Joanna Burstedt	Nathan McQuarrie
Katrina Cole	Evan Pinson
Jennica Collette	Jacob Price
Elvira Correa Lazaro	Aubrey Reed
Patricia Franks	Chloe Roblyer
Jordan Gage	Casey Roper
Jason Gardiner	Chelsea Rose
Jacob Harris	Amanda Solomon
Naomi Hilton	Samantha Tidwell
Danielle Hogan	Talley Timms
Garrett Hostetter	Colt Williams
Amber Hutchinson	Henry Wright
Savanna Johnson	

### Foreign Language Awards:

Isabelle Lougee won the 2019 Foreign Language Award. This Language Certificate program has been completed by roughly a dozen polisci grads in each year.

### Poli Sci Stories Awards - Video of the Year:

Amerins Tolman

### Department Awards:

Sarah Allred	Connor Kreutz
Madeline Beck	Braydon Madson
Gabe Darger	Emmanuel Reyelts
Kelly Duncan	Alena Smith
Isabelle Lougee	Jacob Spencer
Matthew Easton	Brynne Townley
Rachel Finlayson	Heather Walker
Samantha Frazier	Abigail Woodfield
Elden Griggs	Aubriana Wolferts
Luke Lyman	





# ACUNS Conference in Stellenbosch, South Africa



BYU is hosting the ACUNS journal *Global Governance* under the direction of Co-Editor-In-Chief, BYU Political Science Professor Kendall Stiles, until 2023. This year the annual conference for ACUNS (the Academic Council of the United Nations System) took place at Stellenbosch University, in Stellenbosch, South Africa, just east of Cape Town. Several of the editorial staff of *Global Governance* attended the event, including Matthew Clarke, Managing Editor of the Journal, from BYU Political Science, along with 175 other participants from 60 different countries.

Under discussion was the “UN and Africa: Progress Towards Achieving the SDGs.” SDGs are “Sustainable Development Goals” proposed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015: a collection of 17 global goals to be achieved by the year 2030. The SDGs are part of Resolution 70/1 of the United Nations General Assembly: “Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.”

Of particular interest to the journal of *Global Governance* was the annual “Holmes Lecture” presented this year by the Chair of the Law Faculty

Trust for Social Justice at Stellenbosch University, Professor Thuli Madonsela, who was named among *Time Magazine’s* 100 most influential people in 2014, and *Forbes* recognized her as the African Person of the Year in 2016. She spoke about the two most pressing world imperatives now: Social Justice and Climate Change. Particularly, she focused on Social Justice where SDG goals include reducing inequality with inclusive and sustainable economic growth and decent work for all; reducing Gender Inequality in a world of universal respect for human rights and human dignity, the rule of law, justice, equality and non-discrimination; of respect for race, ethnicity and cultural diversity; and to eliminate “poverty” by 2030. Her concerns now are that in Africa, 70% of the assets of South Africa are owned by 10% of the richest people, and that 55% of all groups are poor. She gave an inspiring presentation, which will be published in *Global Governance* early in 2020.

Please take a moment and look into this fascinating United Nations journal hosted by BYU Political Science. (<https://brill.com/view/journals/gg/gg-overview.xml?lang=en>)





## Political Philosopher

# NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli (3 May 1469 – 21 June 1527) was an Italian diplomat, politician, historian, philosopher, humanist, writer, playwright and poet of the Renaissance period. Born in Florence, he has often been called the father of modern political philosophy and political science. For many years he served as a senior official in the Florentine Republic with responsibilities in diplomatic and military affairs. He wrote comedies, carnival songs, and poetry. His personal correspondence is renowned by historians and scholars. He worked as secretary to the Second Chancery of the Republic of Florence from 1498 to 1512, when the Medici were out of power. He wrote his best-known work *The Prince* (*Il Principe*) in 1513, having been exiled from city affairs.

Machiavellian is widely used as a pejorative to characterize unscrupulous politicians of the sort Machiavelli advised most famously in *The Prince*. Machiavelli described immoral behavior, such as dishonesty and the killing of innocents, as being normal and effective in politics. He even encouraged it in many situations. The book gained notoriety due to claims that it teaches “evil recommendations to tyrants to help them maintain their power”.

The term Machiavellian often connotes political deceit, deviousness, and realpolitik. On the other hand, many commentators, such as Baruch Spinoza, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot, have argued that Machiavelli was more of a republican, even when writing *The Prince*, and his writings gave inspiration to Enlightenment



*A map of Florence*

proponents of modern democratic political philosophy. His much less popular work, the *Discourses on Livy*, is often said to have paved the way of modern republicanism. Machiavelli is sometimes seen as the prototype of a modern empirical scientist, building generalizations from experience and historical facts, and emphasizing the uselessness of theorizing with the imagination. “He emancipated politics from theology and moral philosophy. He undertook to describe simply what rulers actually did and thus anticipated what was later called the scientific spirit in which questions of good and bad are ignored, and the observer attempts to discover only what really happens, wrote Joshua Kaplan in 2005.

Machiavelli felt that his early schooling along the lines of a traditional classical education was essentially useless for the purpose of understanding politics. Nevertheless, he advocated intensive study of the past, particularly regarding the founding of a city, which he felt was a key to understanding its later development. Moreover, he studied the way people lived and aimed to inform leaders how they should rule and even how they themselves should live. Machiavelli denies the classical opinion that living virtuously always leads to happiness.

[Source: (<https://bit.ly/1Yhkoe4>) See also: *The Essential Writings of Machiavelli* (Modern Library Classics) – April 3, 2007 by Niccolò Machiavelli (Author), Peter Constantine (Translator), Albert Russell Ascoli (Introduction)]



## ALUMNI



### SAVANNAH ECCLES JOHNSTON

Savannah Eccles Johnston is a PHD Candidate at Claremont University after a BA at BYU in Political Science. Her Dissertation is on Traditionalist Conservatism and Classical Liberalism, and the Fusion Era of Conservatism (1955-1990) versus the Contemporary Era (1991-2019).



### RICHARD HARTVISGEN

Richard Hartvisgen graduated from BYU in Political Science and received his law degree from the J. Reuben Clark Law School. He has been with Nuskin International for over 30 years, and has worked there as General Council, Director of Legal Affairs, Head of Strategic Planning, and is currently VP of Global Regulatory Affairs and General Counsel International.



### ERIK KRISLE

Erik Krisle is a director based in Salt Lake City. In this role, Erik manages Leavitt Partners' data and analytics team. Mr. Krisle also manages primary data collection efforts and data asset management efforts. He also participates in the firm's study of geographic variation in health care markets. Prior to joining Leavitt Partners, Erik founded and operated a boutique data analytics consulting firm specializing in survey research and sophisticated statistical and economic modeling for private and public sector clients. There he organized a team of experienced analysts and academics to consult on a variety of data collection and interpretation projects including a state-based economic impact model and evaluation tool for health care reform initiatives. Erik received his master's degree in public policy and bachelor's degree in political science from Brigham Young University.

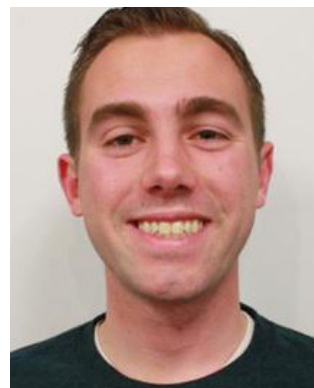
## STUDENT



### KENNEDY GERRATT

Kennedy Gerratt is a junior majoring in Political Science. She grew up all over the east coast and moved around every few years. Her interest in politics was first sparked when her family moved to New Jersey and she spent all her free time going to DC, Boston, Philadelphia, and other

historical cities learning about our country's founding. She loves studying American politics, specifically campaigns and elections. She's hoping to attend law school after graduation and eventually end up managing campaigns. She really enjoys being a part of the Political Affairs Society because it helps connect the students at BYU to faculty and other students who are interested in politics.



### JAKE JENSEN

Jake Jensen is a senior and President of the Political Affairs Society at BYU. He has pursued a legal studies track as a Political Science major and hopes to attend law school following graduation in April. Jake spent the summer of 2019 interning with a lobbying firm in Alexandria, VA, where he learned about special interests and the legislative process. He enjoys connecting with other students and spending time with his wife, Sophia.

# FACULTY SPOTLIGHT

Kendall Stiles was born in Akron, Ohio and his family moved to a little village in Normandy, France called Lillebonne when he was eleven years old. The quaint village was located on the Seine River near the river's confluence with the English Channel and is where William the Conqueror gathered his armies prior to Norman invasion in 1066. There, for six years, Ken gained a view of foreign policy from a French perspective and it has influenced his life profoundly.

And he was converted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints there in France. His older brother had been at an American School in Paris, and had met a Mormon girl there who converted him. Then he converted Ken, who subsequently converted his mother. At 14, Ken was already convinced that the Church was true, even though their branch in Le Havre was tiny, only 15 to 20 members. Mormons had filled in the blanks on theology where Catholics and Protestants could not. He felt he was swimming in familiar waters with members of the Church. After his French Lycee high school experience he went early to BYU and experienced culture shock at the number of people who were members of the church. He was not a cultural Mormon and had to learn some of the social norms.

At BYU he became an IR major and studied with Stan Taylor, served a mission to Australia, then pursued a Masters in Political Science at BYU under Earl Frye, Lad Hollister and Lamond Tullis. He learned Marxism after Marx from David Bohn. He also studied with David Magleby. Ken pursued his doctorate in Political Science at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland and received his Ph.D. in 1987 with a dissertation on "Bargaining and Decision-making in the IMF (published by Westview, 1991)." He met his wife during graduate school in Baltimore. They both sang in the regional church choir and it was almost love at first sight. She was from Northern Virginia and they dated only 2-3 months before getting married in the DC Temple.

After graduate school, Ken worked at the CIA as an analyst, then taught for six years at Bowling Green State University, then at Loyola in northern Chicago. He was ten years at Loyola and researched international law, specifically in Bangladesh. After Loyola, Ken and his family moved west to BYU in September 2003. They lived in Orem for 11 years, then moved from Orem to their beautiful home in Hobble Creek Canyon in December 2014 where they have a beautiful neighborhood, and where 200 wild turkey roam, along with cougars, coyotes, moose, elk and deer. His favorite French food is onion soup with a baquette, and eclairs and Napoleons for desert. Currently he is the co-Editor in Chief of a journal sponsored by the Academic Council of the United Nations System called Global Governance. He was the Director of the BYU International Relations Program, 2011-2014 and Associate Chair for Curriculum, BYU Political Science Department, 2009-2011.



## KENDALL STILES

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Ph.D in Political Science at  
Johns Hopkins University



# FACULTY SPOTLIGHT

Lucy Williams grew up skiing, hiking, and biking in the mountains of Park City, Utah. In high school, she reluctantly took a half-year Government class that was required for graduation. The course quickly became her favorite subject in school, and by the time it was over, she was determined to become a political scientist. Lucy's parents sensed her newfound passion, and for Christmas that year they gave her an "essential reading for political scientists" book collection, which included books like J.S. Mill's "On Liberty" and other classic texts in political thought. It was Lucy's first exposure to political theory, and she never looked back.

Lucy earned a bachelor's degree in Political Science at the University of Utah, where she took every political theory course listed in the course catalog. She then continued her political theory training at UCLA, where she earned a PhD in Political Science. To supplement her theoretical education, Lucy also pursued a JD at the UCLA School of Law. She loved both fields of study and enjoyed exploring how abstract theoretical ideas are applied and put into practice through law.

During graduate school, Lucy took up cycling and running. She now loves to work through writer's block by going on long runs or climbing hills on her bike. She also loves to karaoke (though she is not a particularly good singer). On one memorable occasion, she brought the house down with a rousing performance of the Village People's "YMCA."

Lucy joined the BYU Political Science faculty in Fall of 2018. She is currently on a leave of absence to complete a one-year clerkship on the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. She is excited to return to her BYU teaching and research in January 2020.



**LUCY  
WILLIAMS**

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Ph.D in Political Science at UCLA  
JD at UCLA School of Law

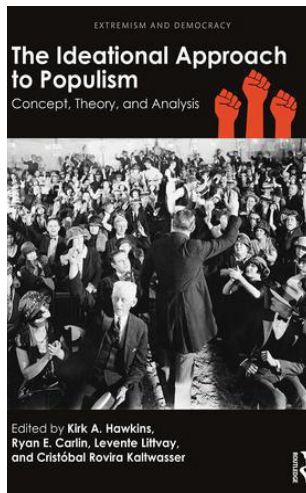
# FACULTY PUBLICATIONS



## *State Responses to International Law*

**KENDALL STILES**

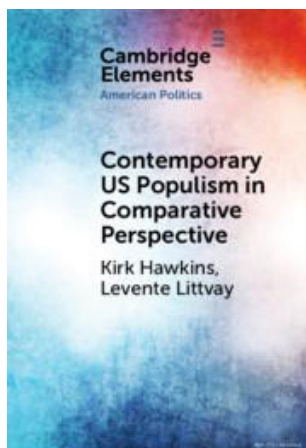
Do countries keep their promises to the international community? When they sign treaties or learn about new expectations, do they take them seriously and implement them? Since we already know intuitively that not all countries do, the next question and the topic of this book is: who complies? By considering a wide range of different rules each precise enough to allow one to measure state compliance and a variety of methods, we hope to answer this question once and for all.



## *The Ideational Approach to Populism*

**KIRK HAWKINS**

Populism is on the rise in Europe and the Americas. Scholars increasingly understand populist forces in terms of their ideas or discourse, one that envisions a cosmic struggle between the will of the common people and a conspiring elite. In this volume, we advance populism scholarship by proposing a causal theory and methodological guidelines – a research program – based on this ideational approach. This program argues that populism exists as a set of widespread attitudes among ordinary citizens, and that these attitudes lie dormant until activated by weak democratic governance and policy failure. It offers methodological guidelines for scholars seeking to measure populist ideas and test their effects. And, to ground the program empirically, it tests this theory at multiple levels of analysis using original data on populist discourse across European and US party systems; case studies of populist forces in Europe, Latin America, and the US; survey data from Europe and Latin America; and experiments in Chile, the US, and the UK. The result is a truly systematic, comparative approach that helps answer questions about the causes and effects of populism.



## *Contemporary US Populism in Comparative Perspective*

**KIRK HAWKINS, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY, UTAH; LEVENTE LITTVAY, CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST**

With the victory of Donald Trump in the 2016 United States presidential election, populists have come to power in the US for the first time in many years. However, US political scientists have been flat-footed in their response, failing to anticipate or measure populism's impact on the campaign or to offer useful policy responses. In contrast, populism has long been an important topic of study for political scientists studying other regions, especially Latin America and Europe. The conceptual and theoretical insights of comparativist scholars can benefit Americanists, and applying their techniques can help US scholars and policymakers place events in perspective.



# FACULTY IN THE NEWS



## Announcements

### CONGRATULATIONS

Congratulations to *Professors Jay Goodliffe and Kirk Hawkins* who were recently promoted to full professor, and to *Professor Chad Nelson*, who was recently promoted to candidacy for CFS (continuing faculty status)!

### BYU MAGAZINE FEATURE

Kirk Hawkins' work on Populism was highlighted in the current issue of BYU Magazine, in the "News Section": "A Populism Primer," by Kristen L. Evans (BA '19).

### FEATURED IN THE POST

Our very own Professor Ryan Davis co-authored an article in the Washington Post on July 19, 2019 on "Facts straight from Mueller's Mouth." The article suggests that it's almost impossible to change minds once the capacity to reason has been surrendered.

See the article in full here: <https://wapo.st/3ONJvKR>



## Julie Rose's Top of Mind

### MAY 14, 2019

Chris Karpowitz and Grant Madsen had a great segment on "Top of Mind" May 14, 2019 about the power struggle between Congress and the White House! Here's the link to the podcast: <https://bit.ly/32FRRFc>

### JULY 8, 2019

Chris and Grant had another great conversation on Top of Mind, July 8, 2019. Here's the link to the discussion on the presidential election with 2 Democrats trying to unseat President Trump. Listen to it here: <https://bit.ly/2KarBwd>

### SEPTEMBER 17, 2019

Chris Karpowitz had a great chat about the American Family Survey on "Top of Mind" on September 17, 2019! Here's the link: <https://bit.ly/32Ep587>





# SAN MARINO AND THE CONCEPT OF TRUST BETWEEN NATIONS

*[continued from page 1]*

But the agreement does not affect the right of the Republic of San Marino to continue to issue gold coins denominated in Scudi (legal value of 1 gold Scudo is 37.50 euros). Gambling is legal and regulated starting in 2007. There is currently one legally operating casino in San Marino. In exchange for these limitations, Italy provides San Marino with an annual stipend, and at cost, sea salt (not more than 250 tonnes per year), tobacco (40 tonnes), cigarettes (20 tonnes) and matches (unlimited). At the border there are no formalities with Italy. However, at the tourist office visitors can purchase officially cancelled souvenir stamps for their passports. Under these restrictions, San Marino is thriving. Italy and tiny San Marino have a relationship of trust and cooperation. While most agree that global cooperation is desirable, and that trust between nations large and small is critical to ensure a world that is safe and productive, fear of being exploited usually takes precedence.

Current opposition to free trade on both sides of the Atlantic, for example, stems largely from the sense that countries are being exploited. The U.S. currently feels

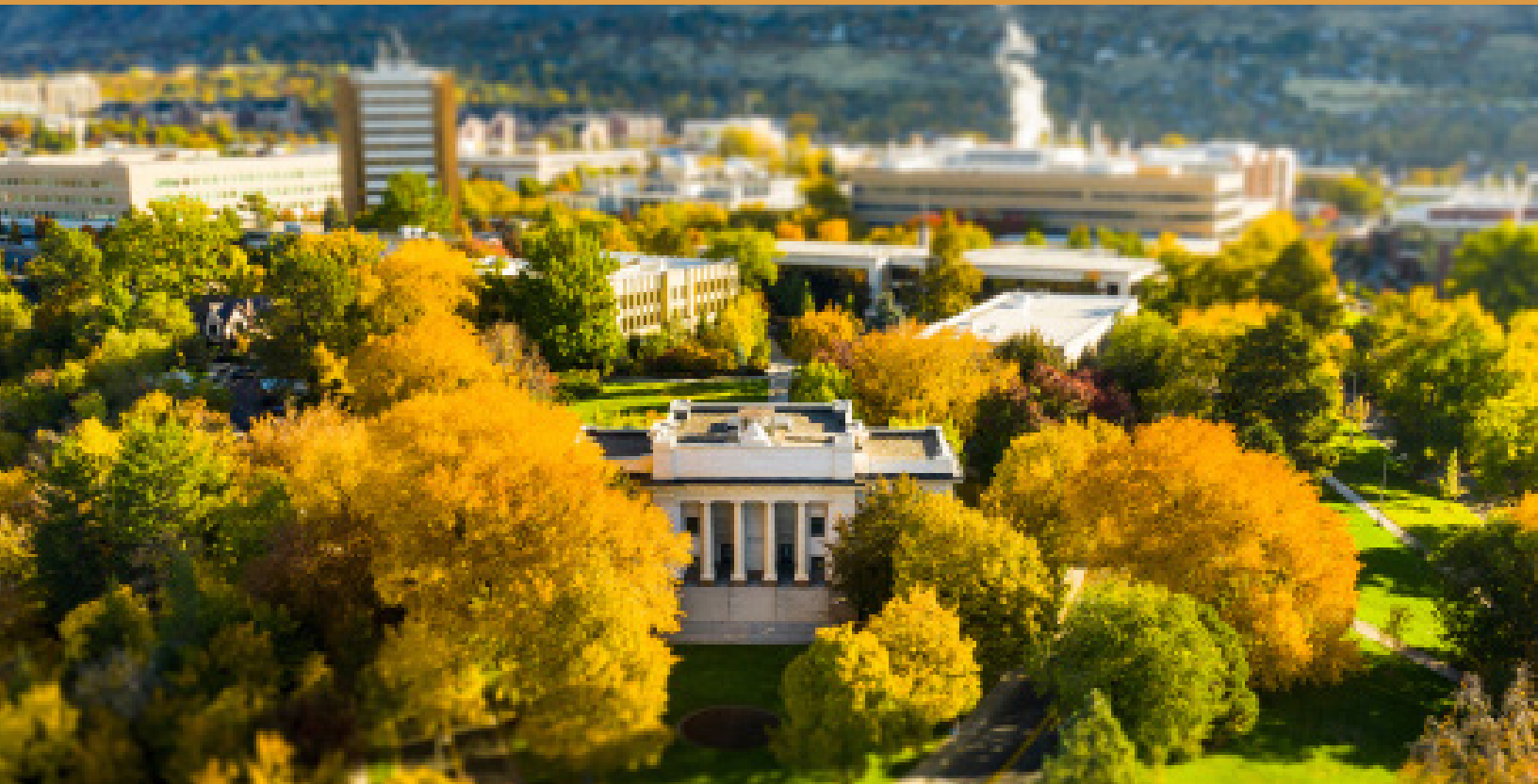
it's being exploited by China. Despite this, trust is real between countries and plays a key role in international relations. Professor Stiles writes extensively about the notion of trust and suggests that where it does exist, it emerges from a confluence of strategic, social, and ideational factors. But those countries who do not trust others, are not necessarily on a path that undermines international cooperation and solidarity. (pp. 1-2, *Trust and Hedging in International Relations*, Stiles). Again, the U.S. does not trust China or Russia, but the two countries still have broad areas of agreement where cooperation exists.

Looking at how relationships between European microstates and their partners have evolved over the past few centuries, Stiles finds that rather than trusting, most microstates are careful to hedge in their relations by agreeing only to arrangements that provide them with opt-out clauses, heavy involvement in joint decision-making, and sunset provisions. In the process, Stiles assesses the role of rationality, social relations, identity politics, and other theories of trust to demonstrate that trust is neither essential for cooperation nor a guarantee of protection and safety. Finally, he explores the ethical implications

of a foreign policy founded on trust—in particular whether heads of state have the right to enter into open-ended agreements that put their citizens at risk.

Stiles begins his analysis by developing a multidimensional definition and operationalization of trust that he relates to international law, international conflict, trade, and realism, liberalism, and constructivism. He follows this with an imaginative research design that explores the trust found in the associations between smaller and larger states, focusing first upon European microstates and then on the relationships between the United States, Russia, and China and several countries that have relied on these dominant members of the international system. Stiles examines the role such international institutions as the European Union, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the United Nations play in building trust and providing smaller countries with a hedge against the adverse effects of an over reliance on more powerful actors. In a world where trust between nations clearly benefits all by enhancing trade and goodwill, hedging and strategic thinking are always critical.





## ENGAGED LIVING

*Serving our communities and country can bring fulfillment and can easily be part of a well-rounded life. Take advantage of the local and national opportunities to serve. Local BYU Political Science Alumni Chapters, such as those in New York City, Washington, DC, and in the Bay Area can help assist in the desire to serve.*

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## FACULTY QUOTE

“From the perspective of the Nephites, remembrance included active participation in some form. For them it meant recalling not merely or simply with the mind but also with the heart...The Book of Mormon links remembrance with covenants and their renewals. Remembering means to keep the terms of the covenant between God and His people; it is faithful response to God’s commandments. At the same time, strictly keeping the commandments leads to remembering...Genuine memory or remembrance occurs in the faithful response to God’s covenant with Israel to make them His people. The Book of Mormon is not a secular but a covenant history, that is, one written from the perspective of the promised blessings for keeping the commandments... According to the Book of Mormon, God is carrying out a plan that includes the testing of his people—they are on probation...they must trust God and repent; they must remember and keep the commandments...The close links between thought and action can be seen in the way in which remembering in the Book of Mormon is linked to the heart of man.”

**-Louis Midgley,  
Professor Emeritus, BYU Political Science**

“To Remember and Keep”: On the Book of Mormon as an Ancient Book. In *The Disciple as Scholar: Essays on Scripture and The Ancient World in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson*. Chapter 4. Provo, Utah. The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, ed. Stephen D. Ricks, et al., 2000, 95-137.